1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

608 582 *fiuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *fiuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [834] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *fiuke*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chacha*, as a potential mother-in-law. 609 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law taboo. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law taboo with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the Ilopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1918).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
619 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

622 Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the eldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotxem* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotxem:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotxem* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lamo*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lamo* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lamo* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 591 601 If was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

[476]

174 601 ●604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avunculate relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Chulchul region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and Moši on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Several polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household.

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time.

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lowie concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lowie's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

Some years ago (1932) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collie Blumpfield, an Assiniboine Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gilbert's account of the Mirvish and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Many my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Assiniboine failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its correlated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published references to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in regard to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close correlation between the father's sister and her own nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father clan.

Since obtaining the data from Collie, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Yeltidvia (1800) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[2] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the existence of a totemic clan organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[1] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1-285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[2] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, XXXVIII, 1908), pp. 258-309, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

593 holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the ruka that a child had made for either parent. "Mapuche idolize their children," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, who had been in all rukas in Alepúe area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please at home. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 19-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter fetched the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

593 If a member of the family is sick, all other members are downcast.
758 All stay in the ruka, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in a ruka recently," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

593 Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age, however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the oldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my oldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her much." Informants were not acquainted with the llopu, a special relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chau within the family circle. In general conversation

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse.

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices.

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories — and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[9]

Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[9] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

582 cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships
of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's
[604] children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a
confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not
necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the
sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's
daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal
uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be
answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth
and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain
[606] that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because
of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between
the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry.
I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter
which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of
the Mapuche.[4]

613 Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special rela-
582 tionship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III,
and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic
marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two per-
sons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in
parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place
at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the
standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's line-
age, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a
woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular
harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals,
since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place
between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave
a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:33, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the sexes are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chuchki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *laku* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *laku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships within a matrilateral *system*, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.